Archaeology, History and Biosciences

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
Sebastian Brather, Wilhelm Heizmann
und Steffen Patzold

Band 107

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Archaeology, History and Biosciences

Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by
Susanne Brather-Walter

DE GRUYTER

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

ISBN 978-3-11-061416-9
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-061665-1
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-061417-6
ISSN 1866-7678

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018967103

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.dnb.de abrufbar.

© 2019 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Satz: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Druck und Bindung: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Frans Theuws

Burial Archaeology and the Transformation of the Roman World in Northern Gaul (4th to 6th Centuries)

Scientific analysis is becoming increasingly important in research on the remains of humans, animals and plants and the material culture of early medieval Europe.[1] We do not know where this will lead us but we all sense that major changes in the field lie ahead. Isotope analyses, however, do not seem to corroborate traditional interpretations of the movement of people and material culture.[2] Scientific research on objects shows that they were exchanged on an almost global scale.[3] We need to be optimistic about integrating scientific input into analyses of early medieval societies and about knowing what the limits are. However, in any interdisciplinary research effort it is crucial to ask proper research questions. What will we subject to scientific analysis and to what end? We could ask a multitude of questions. However, scholars in different fields must realise that all fields are changing, and that each field contains schools of thought that often hotly debate the interpretations of data. This is certainly the case in early medieval archaeology, where one scholar may feel it is a waste of money to answer questions asked by another. Early medieval archaeology, and more specifically burial archaeology, has seen a series of intellectual transformations since the 19th century in response to societal developments ranging from nationalism to post-modernism.[4] New intellectual ways of thinking have not replaced older ones; today there is not a paradigm shift, but a growing diversity of interpretation. In today's truly post-modern environment, one interpretation is no longer seen as better than another, although some no longer seem to fit the ideologies of modern society and others have a growing problem with the ever-increasing body of data.

One interesting development could be the fact that scientific research not only provides new types of data but also influences the intellectual condition within early medieval archaeology because it affects modern scholarly perceptions of the relationship between human beings and material culture.

It is therefore imperative that we archaeologists reflect on our interpretative models before engaging in scientific research and that we communicate these reflections to scientists so that they can understand the ongoing debate in our field. I see

1 I would like to thank Susanne Brather-Walter for inviting me to the Freiburg conference and for her patience. I also thank Dieter Quast for the inspiring and exciting discussion on Childeric's grave.

2 Schuh and Makarewicz (2016) present an interesting example of how isotope analyses complicate the traditional interpretation of the origin of migrants on the basis of material culture.

3 Calligaro et al. 2006–2007; Pion/Gratuze 2016.

4 Fehr 2010; Effros 2012.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110616651-008

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

this paper as a contribution to the debate on the interpretations of the archaeological correlates of the burial ritual in late Roman and early medieval times in northern Gaul. I believe that such reflections should play an important role in deciding how to engage with scientific research into the human remains and material culture recovered from early medieval burials.

Late Roman Northern Gaul

Imagine Clovis riding up to the town of Reims where he will be baptised by bishop Remigius.[5] What would he have seen on his way to the town gates? He probably used Roman roads but he must have passed many a ruined villa. Despite its devastation, the landscape around Reims could still be characterised as a Roman landscape. Following Pierre Bourdieu's suggestion that moving through space is the equivalent of moving through a system of related values, norms and ideas, we can imagine that Clovis internalised some, if not many, of the values relating to a ruined Roman landscape.[6] There is currently a debate as to just how desolate this landscape was. There were important regional differences in the extent to which the Roman material inheritance had disappeared, or survived in a transformed fashion. I believe that northern Gaul was hard hit. A world of ruins lay between the few shrunken towns with their inhabited surroundings. On the other hand, life in the region continued. Many roads and quite a number of fortresses and bridges were still in use. The other focal points of continuity were the late Roman churches, especially the episcopal churches and martyr shrines of the major centres, although there were few of these in the northern part of Gaul where there are discontinuities in the reconstructed bishops' lists of many sees (Fig. 8.1).[7]

Although the Roman state collapsed and gradually ceased to have any direct involvement in the daily life of the inhabitants of northern Gaul, it is likely that most people inhabiting this world in the fifth century felt that they were still living in a Roman landscape, if not the Roman world itself, although the political situation had changed quite drastically. Of course, the ruined landscape may have brought about new perceptions of Roman-ness, since the thoughts evoked by ruins are different from those prompted by an intact and functioning infrastructure. To contemporaries, it must also have been clear that the once flourishing empire had come to an end, but different agents will have developed different perceptions of the past and present. What thoughts were uppermost in Clovis' mind as he passed through the gates of Reims?

A crucial aspect of late Roman northern Gaul was its changing population. By the end of the third century a significant portion of the original population had disappeared,

5 Dierkens 1996.
6 Bourdieu 2008 [1977], 90.
7 Weideman 1990.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

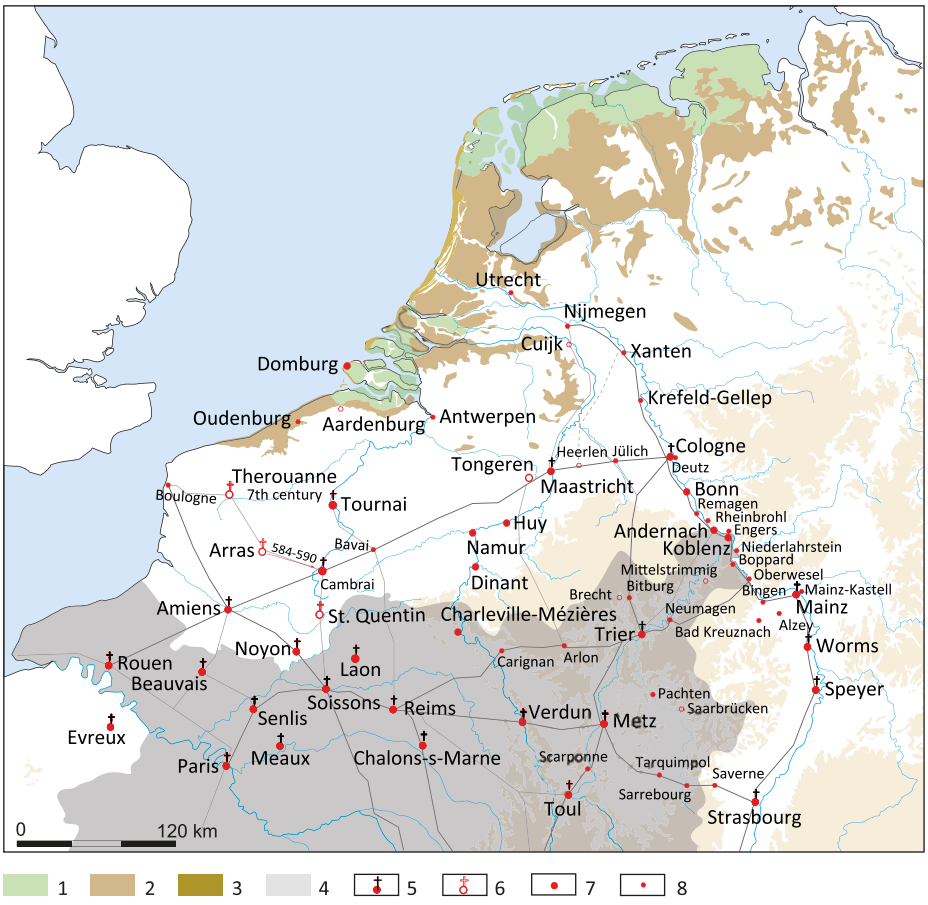

Fig. 8.1: Northern Gaul in early Merovingian times. 1 tidal flats; 2 land above 300 m (middle range mountains); 3 moors; 4 bishoprics with continuous bishops' lists; 5 episcopal seat; 6 episcopal seat terminated; 7 *vicus*; 8 late Roman fortress in use.

leaving *villae*, villages and fields abandoned. New inhabitants appeared, however. In the past this colonisation was considered a one-way series of events, with immigrants from outside the empire settling in northern Gaul as conquerors, supposedly leading to the Germanisation of society. In my view, this model – based on the academic dichotomy of Roman-Germanic and the concept of cultural homogenisation – is not very helpful when it comes to clarifying the complicated process of societal change and changing identities in this part of the Roman empire.[8] If we accept the traditional model, we acknowledge that these immigrants were immune to what the surrounding landscape offered. Moreover, migration – or rather mobility – went back and forth in many directions.

8 Theuws 2000.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

The empty lands of northern Gaul may have attracted people from all over. The academic dichotomy and archaeological research on this period have their roots in the rhetoric of late Roman authors.[9] We have to ask ourselves to what extent we should still hold on to them. Roman concepts of the other are not necessarily the best tools for analysing societal developments in northern Gaul.

I would like to discuss two topics that I have dealt with separately earlier but which I feel would be interesting to present as parts of a single perspective on changing burial rites in the late Roman and early medieval world. They are: 1. the development of new claims on the land and their ritual formation, and 2. Childeric's grave. This will give me an opportunity to present alternative perspectives on early medieval continental burial rites.[10]

Late Roman Burial Rites and Claims on Land

The collapse of the Roman state had serious consequences for the social organisation of production in northern Gaul. The majority of Roman *villae* no longer functioned as they had in the second and early third centuries.[11] Northern Gaul must have contained vast stretches of *agri deserti* in the fourth and fifth centuries. There will have been regional variation in rural living conditions, with those around Trier probably differing from those around Tournai, Paris or Cologne. Nevertheless, they seem to have shared one characteristic. The archaeological record has a surprising lack of aristocratic habitation sites from the fifth to seventh centuries.[12] An important question that has yet to be answered satisfactorily is the extent to which aristocratic groups controlled the countryside in this region during the fifth and sixth centuries.[13] Moreover, it is unlikely that the Roman tax system survived intact in northern Gaul.[14] From a Roman institutional point of view, these may have been seen as negative developments but were they regarded as such by those seeking to create a living in this landscape?

The analysis of burial rituals has played an important role in the study of the transformation of this society in the fourth to seventh centuries. In the past, archaeologists linked important changes in burial rites to historiographical models, often based on discourses in Roman and early medieval narrative sources. The opposition between Romans and barbarians took centre stage in this ancient literature because migration

9 I will deal with the relationship to written texts in a section below.

10 See Theuws 2000, 2009; Theuws/Alkemade 2000 for early reflections on this topic. Unfortunately, I have not published my 1999 Kalamazoo paper 'Sacred fictions and Childeric's grave'. However, I now interpret the grave somewhat differently from my views expressed in Theuws 2009, 314, note 153.

11 Van Ossel/Ouzoulias 2001.

12 Peytremann 2003; Loveluck 2013.

13 Theuws in press.

14 Wickham 2005, 102–115.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

and ethnicity had become important political issues, as they subsequently have done for modern historiography and archaeological research.[15] However, it took archaeologists quite some time to realise that historiography was re-evaluating the ancient texts in the context of what is now known as the linguistic turn.[16] Historiography now provides alternative, and probably better, insights into the backgrounds and meanings of early medieval texts by looking at the context of their production and unravelling the deeper meaning, discourses and (at times concealed) messages or intentions of the narratives. Archaeologists who browse through recent historiography with the intention of finding out '*Wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*', to quote the famous adage of German historian Leopold von Ranke, are likely to be disappointed. They will find a lot of history of mentalities, of political ideas and analyses on discourses on the other instead of certainties about social conditions and people's identities and self-identities.

Archaeologists have to live with the fact that historiography is no longer a supplier of ready-made models that can be applied to the archaeological evidence. Moreover, there might not be a simple relationship between perceptions of the other – more specifically the Germanic people – in texts by Roman authors, the nature of identities of larger social aggregates (ethnic formations) as described in early medieval narratives and the meanings of burial rites. However, in the past and to this day, especially in continental archaeology, this relationship is still considered a close one by scholars who accept the perceptions of past authors as factual evidence that can be likened to the factual evidence from cemetery excavations. Later, I will explain that the relationship between past perceptions and present archaeological data could not be more complicated because, like texts, archaeological data – such as the remains of burial rites – might also be the result of discourses on, say, the position of women and men in society, the nature of the body, or the nature of leadership. In that case the comparison between historiographical models and archaeological models based on burial evidence would be on the level of discourses rather than social practices.

Burial rites in northern Gaul were already changing in Roman times. Inhumation replaced cremation, a process that had already started in urban contexts in the late second century. In the fourth century new elements appeared in the sets of objects deposited in graves. Axes, lances, and bows and arrows appeared as grave goods in the graves of a fairly small number of men and indeed some boys.[17] Other 'real weapons' such as swords and shields are extremely rare. In past research, archaeologists regarded these objects as weapons, although some of the axes look rather like carpenters' tools or are so small as to appear impractical. Depositing weapons in graves was not supposed to be a Roman practice. Consequently, archaeologists considered these graves to be those of non-Romans or, more precisely, Germanic people, and because the objects were

15 Halsall 2014.
16 Spiegel 1997. See for instance Goffart 1988.
17 Böhme 1974.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

viewed as weapons the graves were identified as belonging to Germanic warriors. By mapping these graves, you could illustrate the Germanic settlement or conquest of Gaul and the process of barbarisation or Germanisation.[18]

An alternative interpretation is possible if we consider the symbolic meanings of these objects.[19] The axe can be related first and foremost to chopping wood or, in other words, to land clearing or reclamation. The lance was a symbol of authority and power in both the 'barbarian' and Roman world but, like bows and arrows, it was also widely used to hunt or rather to represent the hunt. The hunt combines many symbolic meanings of the axe, lance, and bow and arrows. After all, it was during the hunt that *virtus* and leadership were displayed, that power relations were made visible and thus reproduced, but also, as I have suggested, that claims on land were represented. You hunt where you are the master. I have suggested that all three new types of objects in the graves of some men (axes, lances, bows and arrows) referred to the clearing and control of land and not to the Germanic ethnic identity of the deceased. Moreover, the symbolic meanings of the objects did not necessarily refer to the role of warrior. I have interpreted this late Roman burial rite as a possible way to substantiate a new method of claiming land and a ritual practice to embed groups in the landscape.[20]

If we redraw the old map, we see that these graves are relatively rare in the most militarised zones of northern Gaul, the Rhine limes and coastal areas.[21] It is also remarkable that no such graves have been found as yet in the regions where the Francs were supposed to have settled in the fourth and fifth centuries. Instead, they were found in between the habitation cores of northern Gaul in areas marked in green on the map (Fig. 8.2). The sites marked 'P' are the towns with a *prefectus laetorum*.

18 See for instance Böhme 1974; 1999; 2002; for a somewhat later period: Périn 1998; Dierkens/Périn 2003.

19 For a more extensive discussion of the method of looking at symbolic meanings, see Theuws 2009. Recent years have seen a nuanced debate on the interpretation of 'Germanic' graves. For a lively discussion of almost all important positions, perspectives and subtleties of different authors' interpretations, including my reading of the graves with 'weapons', see Halsall 2010, 131–167. A number of Guy Halsall's papers have been collected and reprinted in Halsall 2010. I will use that edition, but refer between brackets to the date of the original publication as follows: Halsall 2010 [2000] as the dates show that he can be considered one of the forerunners of the revisionist debate on late Roman 'Germanic' graves. If no date is given between square brackets, the reference is to one of his comments in the 2010 book.

20 Halsall (2010, 157–158) commented that this interpretation places too little emphasis on the element of power, and that I would be foolish not to accept that power play was important in late Roman times. However, I am interpreting a burial rite in which power play may not be the most important element. I am not describing the workings of late Roman society in the northern Gaulish countryside, which may not be possible on the basis of burial evidence, as will be made clear later. Like a saint's Life, burial evidence could be a discourse on certain positions in society rather than actually reflecting power practices. It is on the dominant role of power in burial rites that our opinions differ.

21 New discoveries can be added to this map but they do not essentially change the distribution pattern. It would be worthwhile to make a new inventory.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

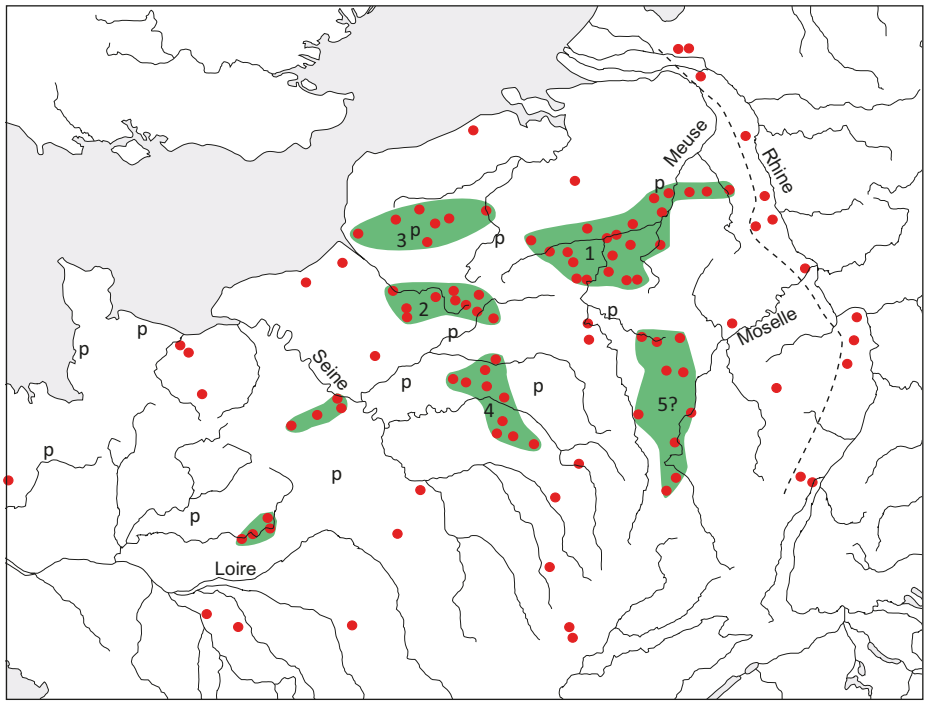

Fig. 8.2: Northern Gaul. Late Roman graves with axes, lances, bow and arrows. Places marked with a P have a *prefectus laetorum*. The green areas indicate concentrations of such graves (after Theuws 2009).

These *prefecti* were in towns in the white inhabited areas in between. What I have suggested is that the people who deposited axes, lances, and bows and arrows in graves were occupying and claiming *agri deserti* in peripheral zones but they did so independently of the patron-client relationships of the Roman social organisation of production. In the eyes of those who saw themselves as Romans, these people may have placed themselves outside the socio-political sphere considered to be Roman. But this does not necessarily mean that they were 'Germanic' settlers or that they came from across the Rhine. Those who saw themselves as 'Romans' might have viewed them as 'barbarians' even if they did not come from across the Rhine where the barbarians lived, but from other parts of the Roman empire. It is interesting that the symbolism used by these people, who I suspect were backing away from Roman aristocratic control, was not necessarily non-Roman.

Halsall has already pointed out that a similar burial rite barely existed in the barbarian regions across the Rhine.[22] References to the hunt in the context of

22 Halsall 2010[1992; 2000].

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

burial relates to values of the Roman aristocracy, although we need not accept that the values copied were exactly the same. Indeed, we could be dealing with a situation in which a group attempting to escape Roman aristocratic control was using that same aristocracy's symbols of power to achieve its goal. I do not suggest that the men whose graves contained axes, lances, and bows and arrows were aristocrats. Rather, they were locals for whom a burial rhetoric was used that incorporated elements borrowed from Roman aristocrats in order to voice their kind of claims on the land, away from the control of those very aristocrats. Instead of asking whether this burial rite was Roman or Germanic, and making suggestions about the region of origin of the deceased, we should consider the changing ritual repertoires of the fourth to sixth centuries as the result of a process of reflection, interpretation and appropriation of various cultural sources by a variety of people and groups.[23]

The burial rites were changing because new identities and relations of production were being created in northern Gaul, and because burial rites played an important part in the creation of these identities and relations (see below). The Roman discourse with its Roman/barbarian dichotomy, which developed into a modern theorem and analytical construct, is therefore not very helpful when it comes to analysing the changing burial rituals. I prefer to opt for a concept of culture inspired by Frederic Barth, in which agents reflect on cultural sources at their disposal and develop new ritual repertoires instead of being passive receivers of culture imposed on them in some mysterious and inconceivable way.[24]

Fifth-Century Burial Rites

Ritual repertoires kept changing in the course of the fifth century. New elements appeared in the burial rites, such as the deposition of real weapons (swords and shields) in a limited number of graves. This addition of real weapons in the fifth century could indicate that the position of those who made claims on land was gradually changing now that the power of the Roman state had disappeared. These men may have been buried with swords and shields in order yet again to construct new identities, relating not only to claims on land but also to the ability to protect. Later in the Middle Ages a *vir potens* was a man who could provide protection, using

23 Theuws 2000.
24 Barth 1992.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

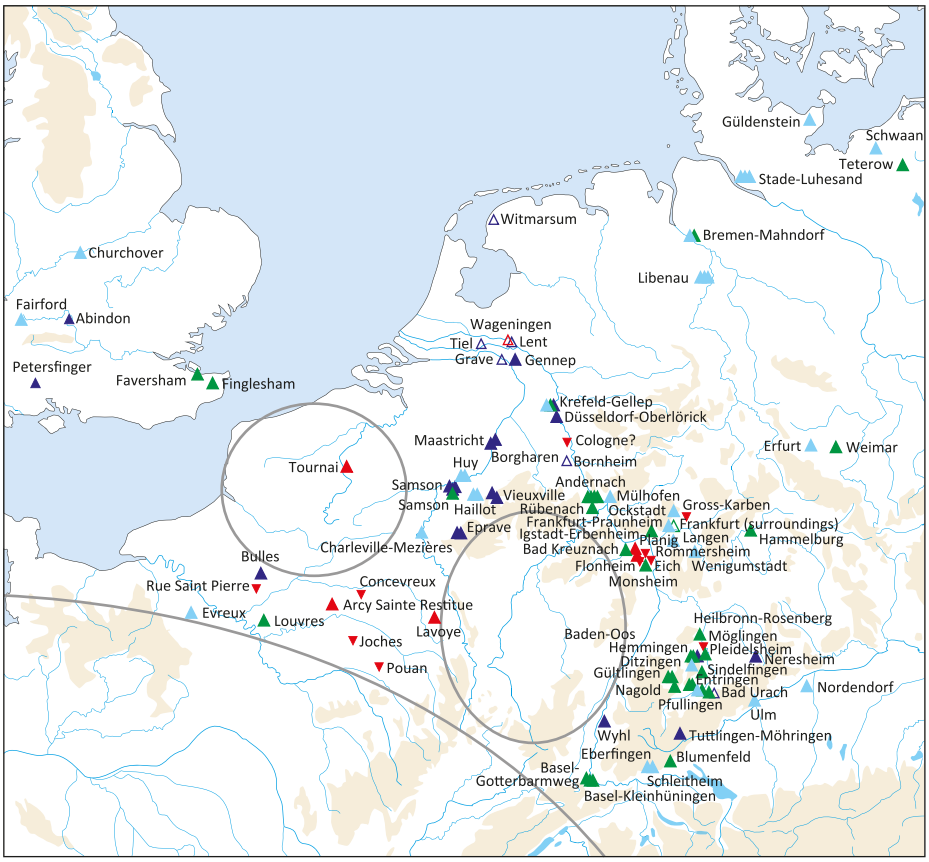

Fig. 8.3: Northern Gaul. The distribution of graves with swords of different types in the second half of the fifth and early sixth century (after Theuws/Alkemade 2000).

violence if necessary.[25] These fifth and early sixth-century graves with swords were found in various parts of northern Gaul but are conspicuously absent in some regions, such as northwestern France, the Moselle/Upper Meuse region and central Gaul with the Loire River basin (Fig. 8.3).[26]

There is one important element missing from the graves of the men buried with these swords: crossbow brooches of the late Roman empire. It is generally accepted that these brooches referred to positions, primarily military ones, in the Roman

25 Leupen 1985.

26 Theuws/Alkemade 2000. The absence of the swords in northwestern France seems to me to be at odds with the conquest model advocated by Périn 1998).

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

state system.[27] Ellen Swift analysed the distribution of those brooches and concluded that their meaning must have changed over time because they also came to refer to civil positions. Moreover, the later types are mainly found in the interior of the empire away from the defended frontiers. It is therefore surprising that there were no crossbow brooches in the weapon burials of the second half of the fifth and early sixth century, although the emperor's entourage still wore them as can be seen on the famous mosaic depicting Justinian in San Vitale in Ravenna.[28] I consider their absence an important symbolic statement. These burials were part of the construction of new identities independent of the rhetoric and symbols of the Roman state.

However, it is too easy to interpret the graves as belonging to men in the service of the king of the Francs.[29] In particular, the graves containing Krefeld-type swords, the majority of which date to the second half of the fifth century, were found in areas where Childeric's power would have been negligible (Baden-Württemberg in Germany, southern England). On the other hand, we already observed that they are conspicuously absent in some areas such as northwestern France (with the exception of Childeric's grave), the Moselle valley and the area south of the River Seine, where Childeric is supposed to have been very active.[30] In fact, I believe we have no proper understanding of what fifth-century Frankish 'kingship' meant in terms of territorial control. I consider the new burial rites of the second half of the fifth century to be a rhetorical strategy in the creation, yet again, of new types of local – or at best regional – identities whose relationship with the exercise of power we do not know about at a high level of aggregation, and in which independence of the Roman state seems to have been an important element. There is one notable exception, however – Childeric's grave, in which a splendid crossbow brooch was found. I'll come back to this grave later.

Sixth-Century Lavish Burials

This trend continued in the sixth century. The lavish burials of men, such as the two at Saint-Dizier in France, whose graves – together with that of a woman and a horse – formed a small, isolated burial ground, are usually considered those of warriors and followers of Clovis' sons.[31] French archaeologists call them '*tombes*

27 Swift 2000.

28 https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basilica_di_San_Vitale_(Ravenna)#Mosaici [8. 10. 2016]; http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/788/video [8. 10. 2016].

29 See also Brather 2014.

30 Does this mean that the king's followers who died during the Loire campaigns were not buried according to this custom?

31 Truc 2012.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

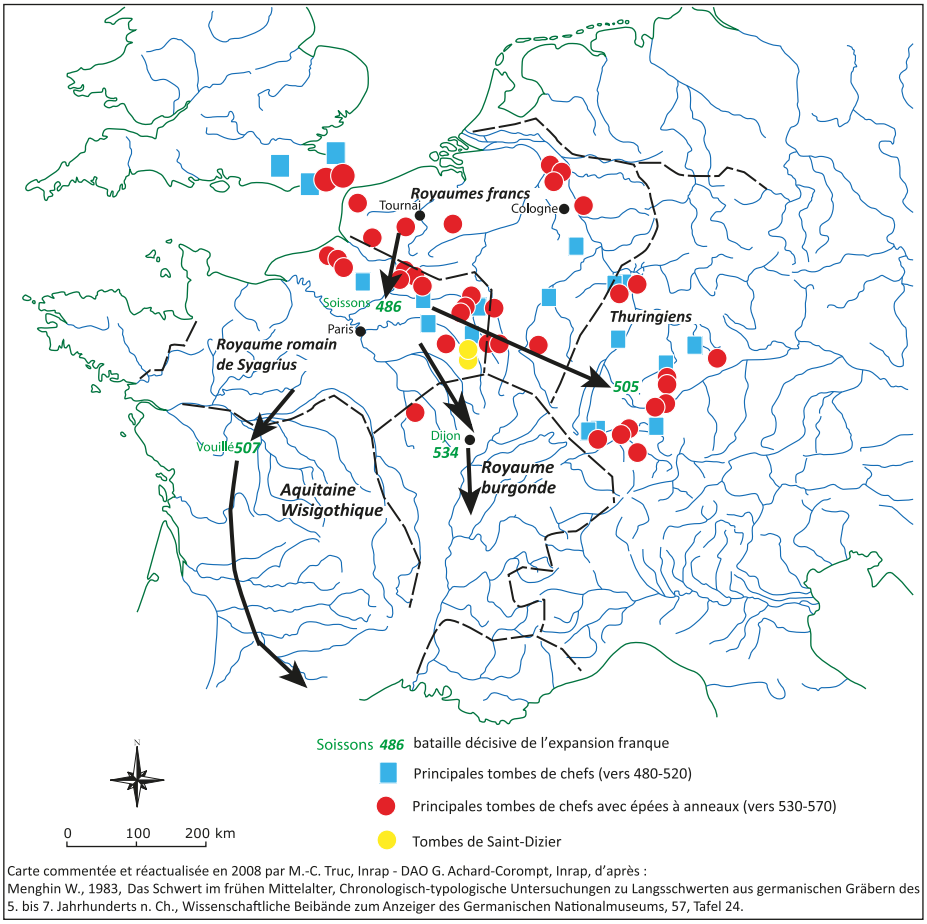

Fig. 8.4: A comparison of the distribution of graves with ring swords and older sword types (Taken with permission from Truc 2012).

de chef' of Germanic origin – in other words, the graves of men who were strategically positioned to control the newly conquered areas.[32] This institutional interpretation, which takes as its point of departure a close relationship between changing burial rites and evenemential history and what Guy Halsall has termed the 'moving front model of Frankish conquest',[33] is not necessarily the only possible explanation. The distribution of ring swords, as presented by Cécile Truc for instance, more or less matches that of the older swords (Fig. 8.4).[34]

32 Périn 1998.

33 Halsall 2010, 188.

34 In her interpretation of the graves of Saint-Dizier, Truc herself adopts a more nuanced position.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Burials with ring swords did not extend into new areas except for northwestern France, which is to the north rather than the south. The graves do not seem to relate to expansion but to represent a further development in more or less the same area.

An alternative interpretation can be suggested for these graves, one in which the king may have played a role but which explains the location of the graves. We could also ask why they were not found further south. The ring-sword burials could represent an ideology centred on Merovingian kings in a way suggested by Bazelmans based on his analysis of the relationship between kings and warriors in Beowulf.[35] Such an ideology may have developed in the course of the sixth century and may not be behind the graves of local powerbrokers of the fifth and early sixth century.

Yet another alternative interpretation of lavishly furnished male and female graves is that they do not represent a single historical person (a specific follower of the king, whose name we unfortunately do not know) but are the result of a communal effort to create ancestors with protective capacities (men with weapons) or reproductive capacities (lavishly buried women).[36] This alternative interpretation calls into question the modern concept of personhood based on individualism, which is implicitly present in the traditional interpretations of those wealthy graves.[37] I will not dwell any longer on these richly furnished sixth-century graves because they are the subject of research by my group of Research Master's students and myself; I hope to come back to them in the near future.

I will try to answer another question: where does Childeric's burial fit in this development? The answer depends entirely on how you perceive the nature of the burial ritual. I will therefore interrupt the 'historical' narrative once again in order to reflect on the intellectual development of burial archaeology. I will suggest alternative ways of looking at burials in the early Middle Ages and interpret Childeric's burial from that point of view.

Interpreting Early Medieval Burials

Until recently, continental Merovingian burial archaeology was dominated by a single paradigm based on the assumption that the image of the dead represented that of the living. Other elements of that paradigm were a close relationship to a historiographical discourse on power, politics and conquest, ethnic ascriptions of finds and a strong interest in vertical social relationships. Because of this close link to the historiographical debate, all efforts at interpretation were geared towards

35 Bazelmans 1999.
36 Theuws 2009; 2013.
37 Theuws 2013.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

understanding what happened at the upper echelons of society and large social aggregates such as tribes, kingdoms and ethnic groups. Archaeology sought to contribute to what was essentially an evenemential history in a Braudelian sense.[38] In order to contribute to this historiographical debate we had to develop our chronologies in as much detail as possible. A huge effort was invested, and is still being invested, in creating highly detailed typochronologies that tend to neglect various important cultural phenomena.[39] But burial rites were performed by local groups and families whose cosmology, norms, values and ideas may not have been identical to those at the top. What do we actually know of village life and the culture of the rural population in the northern Gaulish countryside? What do we know, for instance, about ritual repertoires and life-cycle rites? There may have been interesting rural cultures, elements of which were distributed over large areas through the mobility of the rural population or marriage exchanges and the like, and which played an important role in burial rites.

Although the 'historiographical' paradigm has since been criticised, mainly in an Anglophone research context[40], and to a lesser degree in Germany[41], it is still very strong. New interpretations refer to social strategies in relation to local competitions for power.[42] But inspired by anthropological and ethnographic research, these interpretations also include the world of values, ideas and world views within a society. Aspects such as martiality, gender positions, personhood, memory, an ancestral world, emotions and the sensory experience of burial and cremation are discussed, although mainly in the Anglophone world. However, the burial ritual can also be considered a discourse on various societal aspects and world views.

This means that, as in texts, a number of both conscious and unconscious rhetorical strategies may be employed in the burial ritual.[43] It is an arena where structural aspects of society articulate with the agency of those performing the rite. This articulation could be the cause of much of the variation observed in aspects of the burial rituals, such as inhumation, gender representation, grave orientation and cemetery location, despite the fact that the rituals were also clearly governed by many conventions. This perception of the burial rite as a rhetorical strategy differs considerably from the old paradigm, which holds that persons/agents unquestioningly followed blueprints for acts meant to express ethnic identity, gender roles and vertical social positions.[44] As I have said, interpretations relating to society as a

38 Braudel 1972/1973.

39 Kars 2011, 2012, 2013.

40 E.g. Härke 1991, 1992, 2000; Halsall 2010 [1992, 1998, 2000]; Theuws/Alkemade 2000; Theuws 2009, 2013; other scholars could be cited.

41 Fehr 2002; von Rummel 2002; Brather 2004; Fehr 2010.

42 This point is especially advocated in the writings of Guy Halsall; see Halsall 2010.

43 Theuws 2009.

44 Theuws 2000.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

whole predominated in the old paradigm, whereas today the agency of small groups (families, local groups) is given a more prominent place.[45]

If we browse through the anthropological literature and ethnographic examples of burial rites, it is clear that a 'blueprint-for-acts' interpretation must be too simple an explanation of the early medieval burial ritual. It ignores the complexities of practices and meanings of burial rites in general, as well as the fact that the archaeological correlates – the graves and cemeteries – are the product of ritual activities rather than historical events. To reiterate, burial rites can be considered performative acts in which social conditions are created, perhaps unconsciously in relation to norms, values and ideas and the cosmological order. Moreover, the burial ritual is also a time period and the cemetery a place in the landscape where various actors negotiate important aspects of society and world views. It is a ritual in which there is a constant back and forth between traditions, values, norms and ideas and the reflections on them by various agents or groups of agents. It is truly an arena for a structure-agency debate. This is also the reason why there is so much variability – ambiguous meanings are part and parcel of strategies employed by families – and why we have so much fuzzy data.[46] We have to acknowledge that ambiguity is part of the rhetoric of the burial rite and that studying variability rather than homogeneity needs to be developed in the coming years.

An important element that should be considered when interpreting the early medieval burial remains is the relationship between the living person and the dead person we find in the grave. There is one certainty: the deceased was once alive. Traditional continental interpretations barely consider the transformations a person may go through during the burial rite and consider the dead person a reflection of the living. Doubts have recently been voiced on the Continent too, suggesting that the dead might be ideal types, or stereotypes of social positions. However, if that were the case we have no instrument for understanding variability in burial rites; we would like to know who created which stereotypes, and with what intentions or effects.[47] On the other hand, it is clear that there were some relationships between the living and the dead. Burial rites seem to have been geared to the sex and age at death, translated into gender positions and age categories.[48] Women and men were buried differently, as were young and old. But again, there were no rules for all of Gaul as there appear to have been regional differences.

An analysis of the relationship between the living and the dead person could start by considering the burial rite as a life-cycle ritual that is usually a rite of passage. In a rite of passage a person is transformed from an old to a new status via an

45 Lucy 2002.
46 Halsall 2010 [2003], 219.
47 Bertens 2014 [2001], 94–95.
48 Halsall 1996; Hadley/Moore 1999; Stauch 2008.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

intermediate one.[49] This is accomplished through rites of separation and rites of incorporation, which suggests that a person is transferred from one status to another after a series of burial rites. This model thus predicts that the dead person is not identical to the living one, although he or she might have the same gender, as in rites relating to marriage.

An analysis of the relationship between the living and the dead person should also include conceptions of personhood.[50] Most traditional interpretations take as their point of departure our modern conceptualisation of personhood, determined by individualism. With post-modern ideology, which has resulted in attention to the agency of individuals in today's archaeology, our modern conceptions of the person have often crept into many analyses, although in historiographical research our modern conceptions of the individual are not traced back to the early Middle Ages.[51] This unconscious presence of modern concepts when analysing the early medieval dead is visualised time and again by the representations we are all familiar with of dead people as if they were alive in museums, exhibition catalogues and re-enactments. Incidentally, I suspect that most visualisations of women are probably male constructs because they are often represented as young, slim Claudia-Schiffer-type women, independent of the age of the deceased.

Alternative concepts of personhood should be considered, such as fractal personhood, whereby single people and collective wholes merge into a single phenomenon.[52] From the perspective of fractal personhood, lavish burials can be considered as representing a community or group rather than an individual historical person.[53] My conceptualisation of the dead person approximates what Coon coined as 'sacred fictions'.[54] The Lives of saints (the texts) are not usually accurate and meticulous biographical descriptions of the lives of the people concerned but are texts with a certain agenda. Rhetorical strategies, such as a specific description of clothing, are used to achieve the author's goals.[55] The living person is transformed into a saint and the production of the text is an important contribution to this rite of passage.

In my view the burial rite has the same function as the Life of a saint: it is an important element in the transformation of a living historical person into a dead person. Some of these individuals may have had important ancestral functions. Archaeologists interested in real-life social relations and practices may thus believe that the burial rite 'distorts' our image of the living person, just as a saint's Life distorts

49 Van Gennep 1960 [1908].
50 Fowler 2004; Theuws 2013.
51 Goetz 1999, 291–293.
52 Fowler 2004.
53 Theuws 2013.
54 Coon 1997.
55 See also von Rummel 2007.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

that image. Like the saint's Life, the function of the burial ritual may not be to accurately inform us about the living historical person. We may join Bertens in asking: 'Into what position does a text, a film, a rock video, or a commercial try to manoeuvre us through specific strategies of narration, specific shots, images and other forms of representation?'[56] I would add 'specific aspects of the burial rite'. Indeed, what matters is how, in addition to representing something bigger than the single individual, the lavish burials of some men and women were staged and by whom.

Childeric's Burial

Let's look at Childeric's grave from this perspective. Lavish grave goods were found in 1653 in the Belgian town of Tournai. They are generally believed to originate from the grave of an important individual, identified as the Merovingian Childeric I on the basis of a ring with the inscription 'Childerici regis' in reverse.[57] By now it seems generally accepted that Childeric's burial was probably staged by Clovis and/or his entourage, and I agree with Guy Halsall that Clovis was the author of the ritual.[58] We differ, however, on the exact meaning of the burial rite, as we shall see. The complicated symbolism of Childeric's burial seems to suggest that it was directed at a diverse audience that included the high-ranking clergy of northern Gaul, Roman aristocrats and Frankish followers.[59] This interpretation relates to my perception of the burial as a narrative, a discourse, a rhetorical strategy aimed at achieving specific goals.[60] I might be accused of adopting an instrumentalist position on this but exceptional burials like Childeric's do not at present seem to be the result of an unconscious adherence to tradition.

The burial was exceptional, an event whose authors had particular goals in mind. In my perception of such burial rites, those goals went beyond Guy Halsall's model, which views burials as a political instrument in times of crisis. The lavish burial of a predecessor could help to establish a new power position in times of crisis when succession was insecure – especially hereditary succession, which was introduced as a new element.[61] A similar position has later been adopted in the German literature, indicated by the term '*Herrschaftsansprüche*', which the lavish burial rite was designed to secure.[62] In the case of Childeric's burial, Clovis' *Herrschaftsansprüche* were supposedly uncertain and had to

56 Bertens 2014 [2001], 88–89.
57 There is an extensive literature on this grave, but see Quast 2015a.
58 Theuws 2000; Halsall 2010 [2001]; Theuws 2009; see Quast 2015b for a review of the debate.
59 The horse burials might indicate that Thuringian warriors were also 'targeted' (Quast 2015b, 242–244).
60 Theuws 2000, 2009.
61 Halsall 2010, 190–191.
62 For an overview, see Quast 2015a, 239.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

be obtained in a competition with Syagrius, the son of Childeric's contemporary Arbogastus who also claimed authority in northern Gaul.[63] I can imagine that the burial rite may have had this effect, but the burial rite performed in Tournai seems to me to be more sophisticated than currently suggested in the scholarly literature.

There is a lively debate as to the origin and symbolism of various objects in the grave.[64] There are clear references to the Roman past in which Childeric operated, according to the sparse written evidence, primarily as a military commander.[65] He was dressed as a Roman general, although Philip von Rummel suggests that by that time such garb already had barbarian connotations in the eyes of Roman civilian traditionalists, since the Roman army in the West had mainly been taken over by barbarians.[66] Thus an interesting aspect of this way of dressing a dead leader is that it may have had different meanings for different members of the audience. This is no different from a narrative text that can be interpreted differently by different readers. Can we gain some idea of what the author(s) of the ritual had in mind? I think we can catch a glimpse.

If we agree with von Rummel that Childeric was buried in the attire of a Roman general with 'barbarian' connotations at a time when 'Rome' had disappeared in the West, we can ask what mattered most to the author of the burial rite.[67] The presence of a beautiful crossbow brooch is especially significant. As explained above, this sign of military leadership had already disappeared from sword graves in the West by the mid-fifth century and can be considered an old-fashioned element of the dress. We can be fairly certain that Roman civilian traditionalists, who would have looked at this attire with disgust, did not stage the burial. I suggest that by burying Childeric in this way Clovis and his advisors intended to bury him as a Roman general, and that the barbarian connotations, important to the traditionalists, were in the back of their minds.[68] In my view, Childeric was explicitly buried as a general of the Empire, rather than a barbarian leader, which is in itself not a new insight.

But why? An answer may be found in the old-fashioned elements of his dress. I believe that Childeric was not only buried as a general of the Empire but was presented as a man of the past, a man who belonged to a world that had vanished, a true member of the Imperium. The choice of gold coins of legitimate emperors is also consistent with this image.[69] My suggestion is that Clovis buried his father as a man of the past not only to secure his political position in a competition for power but especially to accentuate, by creating a contrast, his perception of his

63 For a detailed analysis, see Halsall 2010 [2001], and the comments in Halsall 2010, 188–201.
64 See Quast 2015b.
65 Halsall 2001, 2007, 269–271.
66 Von Rummel, 2007, 368–375; 2015, 216.
67 The dating of Childeric's burial is subject to debate (Halsall 2010 [2001]).
68 See also the discussion on this topic in Halsall 2010, 189–190.
69 Fisher/Lind 2015 with a somewhat different interpretation of the essence of the burial rite.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

own (future) position. I suggest that the rhetoric of the burial was not so much about Childeric (who was of course buried), but about Clovis, by creating a contrast (a rhetorical strategy), that expressed his own position – a position outside the empire. Clovis was no longer to be seen as a Roman army general like his father, but as the king of the Francs, a title that featured on Childeric's seal ring (since when?), but which in Clovis' eyes might have to be 'liberated' from its imperial military connotations. This type of position was explicitly buried with Childeric. Thus in my view the exceptional burial was an element not so much in the practices of political competition, which could play a role,[70] but above all in the discourse of what Frankish kingship was to be. It was the world of ideas and ideology rather than of practices that determined the burial rite performed in Tournai.[71]

We must return to Tournai to understand another surprising aspect of Childeric's burial – the fact that it was located in Tournai, which is rather odd. From an archaeological perspective Tournai seems to be towards the northern periphery of the late Roman and early medieval world (Figs. 8.1, 8.3, and 8.5).[72] Excavations in Tournai directed by Raymond Brulet have shown that the town was inhabited in the fifth century and that buildings were constructed in *opus africanum*.[73] The oldest church on the site of the present cathedral dates to the second half of the fifth or the later fifth century; its exact date is uncertain.[74] Written sources make no reference to bishops before the middle of the sixth century but the earliest church was probably an episcopal church.[75] This church could be contemporary with Childeric's burial or it was under construction at the same time, but it could equally have been later. The church of Saint Brice near Childeric's tomb did not exist at the time of the burial, nor were there any martyrs' shrines outside the late Roman walls.[76]

Indeed, compared with other towns in northern Gaul, at the time of Childeric's burial Tournai was a town in the very earliest stages of development. We have to consider the possibility that Tournai lacked a Christian infrastructure at the time of the burial. It has already been observed by other scholars that Tournai occupied a

70 If so, why don't we have more of these lavish burials in Gaul, since there was a whole series of such competitors, or do we still have to await their discovery?

71 Theuws 2000.

72 It is interesting to note in Fig. 8.5 that the distribution areas for glass and ceramic vessels with Christian symbols and gravestones seem to be mutually exclusive to some extent. Note also the concentration of vessels with Christian symbols in the middle Meuse valley, which seems to have been home to a vibrant community in the later fifth and early sixth century (Theuws 2014).

73 Brulet 2012; 2015.

74 Brulet 2015, 87–88.

75 Brulet 2015, 87.

76 Brulet 2015, 91.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

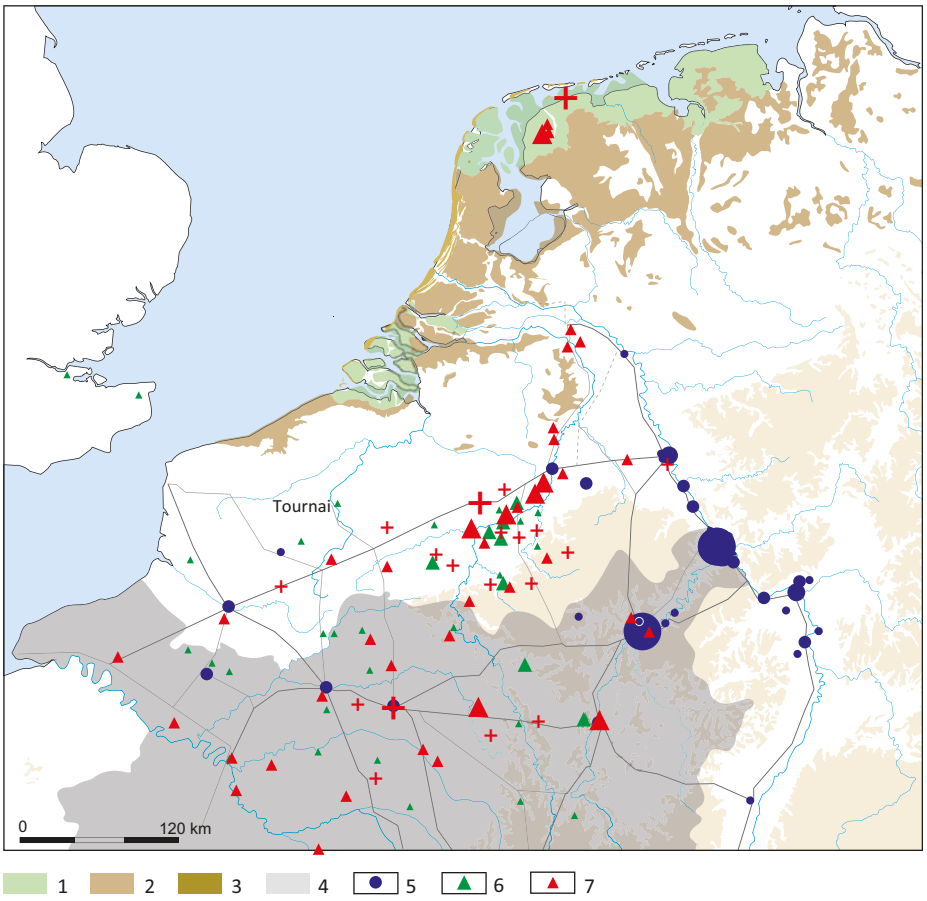

Fig. 8.5: Northern Gaul. The distribution of a number of artefacts with Christian symbols. 1 tidal flats; 2 land above 300 m (middle range mountains); 3 moors; 4 bishoprics with continuous bishops' lists; 5 Christian gravestones (after Boppert 1986 and Gauthier 1975); 6 Glass bowls with Christian motifs (after Van Wersch et al. 2010); 7 Argonne ware decorated with Christian motifs (after Dijkman 1992). Triangles are settlement finds, crosses are grave finds. The size of the symbols indicates the relative numbers found (after Theuws 2014).

peripheral position at that time.[77] In older research Tournai was considered Childeric's 'capital', but this seems unlikely given that central Gaul was his main theatre of operations.[78] At present the choice of location is explained in the context of the competition for power in northern Gaul. It is suggested that Clovis, like his father at one time, had to retreat 'home' to the northern periphery in order to survive.[79]

77 Halsall 2010 [2001].
78 Halsall 2001; 2007, 269–271.
79 Halsall 2010, 194; Hardt 2015, 219.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

However, this reconstruction has been created to fit the somewhat off-site location of Childeric's grave in the 'competition-for-power' model. Other reconstructions are possible. There is a general consensus that Childeric seems to have operated mainly in the Loire region and possibly Paris and that he may at some point have spent several years in exile in the far north of Gaul, if we accept Gregory of Tours' account as fact.[80] To what extent he controlled the whole of northern and central Gaul is difficult to establish on the basis of the present evidence. It is also difficult to establish what this control meant.[81] The evidence seems to indicate that he was the commander of an army, a military leader, perhaps a warlord,[82] a manager of warriors, thus of people rather than a territory (or a kingdom in a territorial sense). So why was Childeric buried in Tournai, a town that seems to have lain outside his theatre of operations in central Gaul and Paris? Was he there by accident?[83]

If Clovis and his advisors staged Childeric's burial and if every detail of his funeral, right down to the choice of coins, was strategic and deliberate, would the choice of location be accidental? Or was it a deliberate choice to bury this 'Roman army general' in a peripheral town, possibly with no Christian infrastructure and outside his theatre of operations, and probably outside Clovis' theatre of operations and power base, namely Paris?[84] Why was Childeric not buried in Paris, near a cult place relating to Genoveva for instance? Because Paris was controlled by his adversaries and he had no power there? Who, then, was in power in Paris at that time? Was he not buried near a Paris cult place because he was not a Christian? The power base of Clovis' strongest adversary Syagrius seems to have been located further north. I would suggest that Childeric was intentionally buried in peripheral Tournai to keep this 'man of the past' away from Clovis' centre of power – in other words, in a centre relating to the past rather than the future.

Another striking aspect of Childeric's burial is the total lack of reference to Christianity. He certainly was not buried near a Christian cult place in Tournai but in a traditional Roman cemetery. Childeric's grave has been interpreted in the past as a pagan burial and the burial has been seen as an indication that Childeric was a pagan, not a Christian. New arguments for Childeric's paganism became available following excavations in the area around Childeric's grave and the discovery of the pits with slaughtered

80 Halsall 2001. There is a lively debate about Childeric's whereabouts during his exile because it is not clear where the 'Thoringia' to which Childeric fled was located (Halsall 2010, 195–197; Hardt 2015, 220).

81 There is a debate, mainly among German scholars, about whether he was a leader with a limited power base (*Kleinkönig*) or a man with a large powerbase (*Großkönig*); see Hardt 2015, 222. It is difficult to decide on the basis of the present evidence.

82 I am not confident that this qualification is apt. He might have been more officially in the service of the Roman army than the term 'warlord' suggests.

83 See Halsall's analyses of the accidental thesis (Halsall 2010, 193).

84 Halsall also suggests that Clovis brought his father north, but for different reasons (Halsall 2010, 193).

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

horses, which were probably killed on the occasion of the burial, and the possible presence of a large hill that might have covered his grave.[85] Clovis may already have intended becoming a Christian at the time of his accession to power, but we will never know. We know for certain, however, that at the time of his accession he was in fairly close contact with the high-ranking clergy of Gaul, as was Childeric too.[86]

Past research has established that the archaeological correlates of early medieval burial rites are not good indicators of the religious position of the deceased.[87] I will not reverse the argument by trying to suggest that Childeric was already a Christian and that we simply cannot tell on the basis of his grave. We cannot establish this on the basis of his grave contents and location.[88] Seeking an answer to the question of whether or not Childeric was a Christian is a good example of research aimed at understanding Childeric as an historical person or understanding observable social or religious practices. As explained above, we might have to look at such burials in another way. What I suggest is that the total absence of Christian symbolism and his burial in a remote town at a traditional cemetery without a Christian cult place might have been a deliberate choice on Clovis' part, perhaps even in the presence of high-ranking clergy. The absence of any reference to Christianity might be a well-chosen element in a rhetorical strategy.

This implies that when it comes to interpreting the burial, it does not matter whether Childeric was a pagan or a Christian. Clovis decided to bury him without any reference to Christianity, perhaps even in a town without a Christian infrastructure. My point is that if this were the case, it will have been part of a rhetorical strategy in which he highlighted the contrast between his father and himself, so that his own position was sharply delineated for the audience present. The high-ranking clergy might have understood Clovis' pro-Christian message, and Remigius acted promptly by writing him the famous letter. We could even consider the possibility that Tournai was turned into a Christian centre after Childeric's burial to accentuate and accelerate the transformation that Clovis had set in motion.

If creating contrasts is indeed the rhetoric of the burial, Clovis was stating that he was not a Roman army general, but the king of the Francs; he was not a pagan but he cherished Christianity, or at least the Church. In my view Childeric's burial tells us little about Childeric, although as with the narratives of texts there will have been a 'social logic of the text',[89] or in this case the 'social logic of the burial rite'. Neither texts nor burial rites can be completely disassociated from the social and cultural

85 Brulet 1990, 2015; Quast 2015a; 2015b.

86 Halsall 2010 [2001]; Hardt 2015, 219.

87 Young 1977; Effros 2002.

88 Incidentally, this location is on the right bank of the Scheldt river opposite the town of Tournai – in other words, not in the diocese of Tournai, but in that of Cambrai, if diocese boundaries were already that clear in the later fifth century and if Tournai already had a bishop by then.

89 Spiegel 1997.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

context of their production. The audience must understand the message. But we will never know exactly who Childeric was on the basis of his burial, just as we will never know exact details about the saints whose Lives we read. In my view, the rhetoric of Childeric's burial is not about Childeric as an historical person. The burial and the grave are 'sacred fictions', to use Linda Coon's qualification of saints' Lives[90]; its agenda was set by Clovis and the form of the burial was geared in detail to that agenda.

The rhetoric of the burial is about Clovis but, more importantly, about the nature of future Frankish kingship. While the symbolism of the burial may relate to acute political problems, I believe it extends far beyond them. The burial can be interpreted as a performative act relating to the creation of nothing less than the values of Merovingian kingship in northern Gaul. This is my answer to the question posed by the linguist I quoted above: 'Into what position does a text, a film, a rock video, or a commercial [or a burial rite, my addition] try to manoeuvre us through specific strategies of narration, specific shots, images and other forms of representation?' I suggest that we use this perspective to look at other lavish burials in northwestern Europe.

What does all this have to do with the theme of the conference – the use of scientific research in early medieval (burial) archaeology? Everything. If we take the position that burial rites were determined by ethnic identities, mass migration and settlement, territorial conquest and vertical social differentiation, that the human and material remains in graves can be linked directly to these topics and that they inform us about the political practices of the time for which texts provide us with models, we will ask specific questions to be answered by scientific research. New scientific research might confirm the existing models, or transform or reject them. However, there are initial signs that disappointments and many rejections lie ahead.[91]

If, on the other hand, we start viewing the burial ritual first and foremost as a ritual, as a *fait social total*,[92] aimed at dealing with important ideas, norms and values in society, such as gender positions, the cultural construction of the body, the nature of leadership, the meaning of age groups, personhood and the role of ancestors, we have to reconsider the questions asked and the use of scientific research into both human remains and material culture. We have to ask the fundamental question: what questions are we hoping to answer through scientific research? I hope that this paper contributes to an understanding of the need to consider alternative perspectives from which to study burial rites and their archaeological correlates. Without well-

90 Coon 1997.

91 See for instance how isotope research on early burials at the Dirmstein cemetery (Germany) has shattered models of the early social structure of the burial community based on a traditional interpretation of the relationship between material culture and people (Schuh/Makarewicz 2016).

92 Mauss 1932 [1923/1924]; Godelier 1984, 65–66.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

considered research questions, originating from a clear understanding of the premises from which we consider the burial rites of the early Middle Ages, any scientific research will start off on the wrong foot.

References

Barth, Fredrik, Towards greater naturalism in conceptualizing societies. In: Conceptualizing society, ed. Adam Kuper (London, New York 1992) 17–33.

Bazelmans, Jos, By weapons made worthy. Lords, retainers and their relationship in Beowulf. Amsterdam archaeological studies 5 (Amsterdam 1999).

Bertens, Hans, Literary theory. The basics (Abingdon 2014 [2001]).

Böhme, Horst Wolfgang, Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire. Studien zur Chronologie und Bevölkerungsgeschichte 1–2. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19 (München 1974).

Böhme, Horst Wolfgang, Sächsische Söldner im römischen Heer. Das Land zwischen Ems und Niederelbe während des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts. In: Über allen Fronten. Nordwestdeutschland zwischen Augustus und Karl dem Großen, ed. Frank Both/Heide Aouni. Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Nordwestdeutschland, Beiheft 26 (Oldenburg 1999) 49–73.

Böhme, Horst Wolfgang, Germanen im Römischen Reich. Die Spätantike als Epoche des Übergangs. In: Menschen, Zeiten, Räume. Archäologie in Deutschland, ed. Wilfried Menghin/Dieter Planck (Stuttgart 2002) 295–305.

Bourdieu, Pierre, Outline of a theory of practice (Cambridge 2008 [1977]) [translation of: Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle (Paris 1972)].

Boppert, Walburg, Die frühchristlichen Grabinschriften aus der Servatiuskirche in Maastricht. In: Sint-Servatius, bisschop van Tongeren-Maastricht. Het vroegste Christendom in het Maasland. Handelingen van het colloquium te Alden Biesen (Bilzen), Tongeren en Maastricht 1984, ed. Clemens Guido de Dijn. Kunst en oudheden in Limburg 28 (Borgloon 1986) 65–96.

Brather, Sebastian, Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Ergänzungsband 42 (Berlin, New York 2004).

Brather, Sebastian, Lokale Herren um 500. Rang und Macht im Spiegel der Bestattungen. In: Chlodwigs Welt. Organisation von Herrschaft um 500, ed. Mischa Meier/Steffen Patzold. Roma aterna 3 (Stuttgart 2014) 567–607.

Braudel, Fernand, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the Age of Philip II (London 1972/1973).

Brulet, Raymond, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai. L'archéologie du site et des monuments anciens 1–3. Études et documents, Archéologie 27–29 (Namur 2012).

Brulet, Raymond, Die Stadt Tournai in der Spätantike. In: Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655, ed. Dieter Quast. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 129 (Mainz 2015) 77–96.

Calligaro, Thomas et al., Contribution à l'étude des granats mérovingiens (Basilique de Saint-Denis et autres collections du musée d'Archéologie nationale, diverse collections publiques et objets de fouilles récentes). Antiquités Nationales 38, 2006–2007, 111–144.

Coon, Lynda L., Sacred Fictions. Holy women and hagiography in Late Antiquity (Philadelphia 1997).

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Dierkens, Alain, Die Taufe Chlodwichs. In: Die Franken. Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben 1–2 (Mainz 1996) 183–191.
Dierkens, Alain/Périn, Patrick, The 5th-century advance of the Franks in Belgica II. History and archaeology. In: Essays on the early Franks, ed. Ernst Taayke/Janine Helena Looijenga/Otto H. Harsema/Hendrik Reinder Reinders. Groningen Archaeological Studies 1 (Groningen 2003) 165–193.
Dijkman, Wim, La terre sigillée décorée à la molette à motifes chrétiens dans la stratigraphie maastrichtoise (Pays-Bas) et dans le nord-ouest de l'Europe. Gallia 49, 1992, 129–172.
Effros, Bonnie, Caring for body and soul. Burial and the afterlife in the Merovingian World (University Park, Pennsylvania 2002).
Effros, Bonnie, Uncovering the Germanic Past. Merovingian Archaeology in France 1830–1914 (Oxford 2012).
Fehr, Hubert, Volkstum as paradigm. Germanic people and Gallo-Romans in early medieval archaeology since the 1930's. In: On barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Andrew Gillet. Studies in the early middle ages 4 (Turnhout 2002) 1777–1200.
Fehr, Hubert, Germanen und Romanen im Merowingerreich. Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie zwischen Wissenschaft und Zeitgeschehen. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Ergänzungsband 68 (Berlin, New York 2010).
Fischer, Svante/Lind, Lennart, The coins in the grave of king Childeric, Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History 14, 2015, 2–36.
Fowler, Chris, The archaeology of personhood. An anthropological approach (London, New York 2004).
Gauthier, Nancy, Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance Carolingienne 1. Première Belgique (Paris 1975).
Godelier, Maurice, L'idéel et le materiel. Pensée, économies, sociétés (Paris 1984).
Goetz, Hans-Werner, Moderne Mediävistik. Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung (Darmstadt 1999).
Goffart, Walter, The narrators of barbarian history (A. D. 550–800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon (Princeton 1988).
Hadley, Dawn M./Moore, Jenny M., 'Death Makes the Man'? Burial rite and the construction of masculinities in the Early Middle Ages. In: Masculinity in Medieval Europe, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (London, New York 1999) 21–38.
Halsall, Guy, The origins of Reihengräberzivilisation: forty years on. In: Fifth-century Gaul. A crisis of identity?, ed. John Drinkwater/Hugh Elton (Cambridge 1992) 196–207.
Halsall, Guy, Female status and power in early Merovingian central Austrasia. The burial evidence. Early Medieval Europe 5, 1996, 1–24.
Halsall, Guy, Cemeteries and society in Merovingian Gaul. Selected studies in history and archaeology 1992–2009. Brill's series on the early middle ages 18 (Leiden 2010).
Halsall, Guy, Two worlds become one. A 'counter-intuitive' view of the Roman Empire and 'Germanic' migration. Germanic History 32, 2014, 515–532.
Härke, Heinrich, All quiet on the Western Front? Paradigms, methods and approaches in West-German archaeology. In: Archaeological theory in Europe. The last three decades, ed. Ian Hodder (London 1991) 187–222.
Härke, Heinrich, Angelsächsische Waffengräber des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts. Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, Beiheft 6 (Köln, Bonn 1992).
Härke, Heinrich, Social analysis of mortuary evidence in German protohistoric archaeology. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 19, 2000, 369–384.
Hardt, Matthias, Childerich I. in den historischen Quellen. In: Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655,

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

ed. Dieter Quast. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 129 (Mainz 2015) 217–224.
Kars, Mirjam, A cultural perspective on Merovingian Burial Chronology and the grave goods from the Vrijthof and Pandhof cemeteries in Maastricht, PhD Thesis (Amsterdam 2011).
Kars, Mirjam, (Re)considering the Pre-Burial Life of Grave Goods. Towards a Renewed Debate on Early medieval Burial Chronology on the Continent. Medieval and Modern Matters 3, 2012 (2014), 107–134.
Kars, Mirjam, The early medieval burial evidence and concepts of possession: questioning individual identities. In: Individual and individuality? Approaches towards an Archaeology of Personhood in the First Millenium AD, ed. Babette Ludowici. Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung 4 (Hannover 2013) 95–106.
Leupen, Piet Henri Dé, De bischoppen en de moraal. Gezag en macht in de vroege en volle middeleeuwen (Hilversum 1985).
Loveluck, Christopher, Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600–1150. A comparative archaeology (Cambridge 2013).
Lucy, Sam J., Burial practice in early medieval eastern Britain. Constructing local identities, deconstructing Ethnicity. In: Burial in early medieval England and Wales, ed. Sam J. Lucy/ Andrew Reynolds. Society for medieval archaeology, Momograph Series 17 (London 2002) 72–87.
Mauss, Marcel, The gift. The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies (London 1932 [1923/ 1924]).
Périn, Patrick, La progression des Francs en Gaule du Nord au V^{e} siècle. Histoire et Archéologie. In: Die Franken und die Alemannen bis zur 'Schlacht bei Zülpich' (496/97), ed. Dieter Geuenich. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altetrumskunde, Ergänzungsband 19 (Berlin, New York 1998) 59–81.
Peytremann, Édith, Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IV^{e} au XII^{e} siècle I–II. Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, Mémoires 13 (Saint-Germain-en Laye 2003).
Pion, Constantin/Gratuze, Bernard, Indo-Pacific glass beads from the Indian subcontinent in Early Merovingian graves (5th–6th century AD). Archaeological Research in Asia 6, 2016, 51–64.
Quast, Dieter (ed.), Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 129 (Mainz 2015).
Quast, Dieter, Chlodwig. Die Codes der Macht. In: Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655, ed. Dieter Quast. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 129 (Mainz 2015a) 237–255.
Quast, Dieter, Der Grabbau. In: Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655, ed. Dieter Quast. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Monographien 129 (Mainz 2015b) 157–164.
Rummel, Philipp von, Habitus Vandalorum? Zur Frage nach einer gruppenspezifischen Kleidung der Vandalen in Nordafrika. Antiquité tardive 10, 2002, 131–141.
Rummel, Philipp von, Habitus barbarus. Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Ergänzungsband 55 (Berlin, New York 2007).
Schuh, Christine/Makarewicz, Cheryl A., Tracing residential mobility during the Merovingian period. An isotopic analysis of human remains from the Upper Rhine Valley, Germany. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 161, 2016, 155–169.
Spiegel, Gabrielle M., The past as text. The Theory and practice of medieval Historiography (Baltimore, London 1997).

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM

Stauch, Eva, Alter ist Silber, Jugend is Gold! Zur altersdifferenzierten Analyse frühgeschichtlicher Bestattungen. In: Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen, ed. Sebastian Brather. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Ergänzungsband 57 (Berlin, New York 2008).

Swift, Ellen, Regionality in dress accessories in the Late Roman West. Monographies instrumentum 11 (Montagnac 2000).

Theuws, Frans, Introduction. Rituals in transforming societies. In: Rituals of Power. From Late antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, ed. Frans Theuws/Janet L. Nelson. The Transformation of the Roman world 8 (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2000) 1–13.

Theuws, Frans, Grave goods, ethnicity, and the rhetoric of burial rites in Late Antique Northern Gaul. In: Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The role of power and tradition, ed. Ton Derks/Nico Roymans. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 13 (Amsterdam 2009) 283–319.

Theuws, Frans, Do all the burials we excavate allow an archaeology of individuality and individualism? An introduction to the Sachsensymposion 2011. In: Individual and individuality? Approaches towards an Archaeology of Personhood in the First Millenium AD, ed. Babette Ludowici. Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung 4 (Hannover 2013) 9–15.

Theuws, Frans, Das mittlere Maastal. Wie es zu einem Kerngebiet des Karolingerreichs wurde. In: Karl der Grosse, Charlemagne. Orte der Macht, ed. Frank Pohle (Aachen 2014) 188–197.

Theuws, Frans, Long distance trade and the rural population of northern Gaul. In: The Oxford history of the Merovingian World (Oxford, in press).

Theuws, Frans/Alkemade, Monica, A kind of mirror for men. Sword depositions in Late Antique northern Gaul. In: Rituals of power from late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, ed. Frans Theuws/Janet L. Nelson. The Transformation of the Roman world 8 (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2000) 401–476.

Truc, Marie-Cécile, Probable Frankish burials of the sixth century AD at Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne, Champagne-Ardenne, France). In: The very beginning of Europe? Cultural and social dimensions of early-medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th–8th century). Archaeology in Contemporary Europe. Conference Brussels, May 17–19 2011, ed. Rica Annaert/Tinne Jacobs/Ingrid In 't Ven/Steffi Coppens (Brussels 2012) 51–66.

Van Gennep, Arnold, The rites of passage (Chicago 1960 [1908]).

Van Ossel, Paul/Ouzoulias, Pierre, La mutation des campagnes de la Gaule du nord entre le milieu du III^{e} siècle et le milieu du V^{e} siècle. Où en est-on? In: Belgian Archaeology in a European setting II, ed. Marc Lodewijckx. Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monograhiae 13 (Leuven 2001) 231–245.

Van Wersch, Line et al., Les coupes en verre à décor chrétien découvertes en Belgique (fin V^{e}–début VI^{e} siècle). Archéologie Médiévale 49, 2010, 115–147.

Weidemann, Margarethe, Die kirchliche Organisation der Provinzen Belgica und Germania vom 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert. In: Willibrord, zijn wereld en zijn werk. Voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Willibrordcongres Nijmegen, 28–30 september 1989, ed. Petty Bange/Anton G. Weiler. Middeleeuwse studies 6 (Nijmegen 1990) 285–316.

Wickham, Chris, Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800 (Oxford 2005).

Young, Bailey, Paganisme, christianisation et rites funéraires mérovingiens. Archéologie Médiévale 7, 1997, 5–81.

Brought to you by | Universiteit Leiden / LUMC
Authenticated
Download Date | 7/1/19 12:51 PM